



*"Man is the measure-  
ment of everything."*

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## THE PRESENT WORLD CHAOS

*It is a commonplace that every worker for a higher social order must be a social diagnostician. He must understand the present to be able to work intelligently for the future.*

But it is no simple matter to understand the present. The past lays fairly open before us. We can see more or less clearly the causes of each past event and its consequences. And paradoxical as it may sound, even the future is in a way less obscure than the present; in trying to make out the future we think along broad lines and are not bothered by a deluge of details. The present, on the other hand, confuses us by its perplexing wealth of often ill-fitting, contradictory and rapidly changing events.

If the present has always been hard to understand, it is especially a hard nut to crack just now. The world today is in a turmoil, it has become fluid and chaotic, events follow each other with bewildering speed, economic relations, political institutions and old established beliefs are changing and dissolving before our eyes. Here and there we find tendencies which are clearly progressive, more often we see events and process which are decidedly reactionary and occasionally we observe phenomena which are difficult to label definitely. It is also hard to determine the extent, depth and permanence of the social and political changes now going on.

Is the rise of Fascism, for instance, in Italy, Germany and elsewhere a merely temporary setback to democracy, the labor and Socialist movements or does it mean a lasting defeat for them and a more permanent entrenching of capitalism? Will that which is going on in the Soviet Republic result in something which we may regard as an approach to Socialism or will it evolve into something utterly different?

Is the wave of insane chauvinism that has engulfed the civilized world and particularly Germany and has not entirely omitted even proletarian Russia, which is today—perhaps against it's will—one of the greatest military powers, going soon to subside or will it go on growing until it precipitates the nations into another gigantic bloody debacle? \*

Is our own "New Deal", now defunct, but probably soon to be revived in some other form, a timid blundering step towards some amalgam of Capitalism and State-Socialism, or is it something that will slide on an inclined plane towards Fascism?

How is the world-wide depression going to end? Will it ever end? Has Capitalism sufficient vitality to recover economically? And if neither the "free play of economic forces", nor the various "deals" and reforms succeed in bringing about a new "prosperity", and the masses are doomed to a lower standard of living, chronic unemployment on a large scale, hopeless suffering and degradation—what will be their idealistic reaction? Will they finally wake up and open their eyes, or will they remain slaves in spirit as well as in body?

These are some of the questions that present themselves to the student of current events in his desperate effort to understand the present in order to map out a course of action for the future.

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One thing we may put down as certain; our present social system is a very sick system. It is rapidly succumbing to a peculiar sort of indigestion; it cannot digest our tremendous technological progress. Every new machine intensifies the contradictions of Capitalism; it increases production and at the same time decreases the number of consumers by making some "hands" superfluous. Capitalism is in desperate need of expanding markets, but in its blind and suicidal greed it is doing its best to contract them. The more liberal and intelligent part of the bourgeoisie here and there catches a glimpse of the great contradiction and tries to resolve it by various reforms. But the homeopathic doses of the new remedies, administered by a hesitant hand, are too weak to cure so formidable a disease. The malady grows progressively worse, but since its pains and burdens fall mainly on the "lower" classes, with the "upper" classes, especially the top-most crust of the bourgeoisie, prospering about as well as ever even during depressions, nothing really effective is permitted to be done to remedy things. All serious re-

\* The Bolshevik government, ruling in the name of the proletariat, has of late conclusively demonstrated that secret alliances with capitalist powers is of far more importance to its reign than the world-revolution to which they have heretofore given such loud lip service.

—Editor.

forms are checkmated by the stand-patters, to whom any attempt to deprive them of the slightest part of their privileges is a dastardly crime and a sacrilegious sin. And since the stand-patters represent the upper and more powerful sections of our ruling class, they are generally successful in blocking all real reforms.

This brings us to a second generalization. We are forced to conclude that all hope must be given up to see the present system grow gradually into a Socialist order. The modern ruling class, like all previous oppressing classes of history, will stand for no nonsense, it wants the whole pound of flesh and will fight for any and all its privileges with bulldog ferocity to the bitter end.

The present conduct of the American Capitalist

### Millions of Jobless Men

Millions of jobless men—  
On twenty-three hundred million acres of idle earth  
Rich with unworked mines,  
Webbed with highways and railroads,  
Watered with rivers and brooks  
Under snow-capped peaks and mountain lakes.

Millions of jobless men—  
In an idle, unused, vacant fertile land  
Dotted here and there with villages and cities  
In which hundreds of million mouths want food  
And hundreds of million needs  
Are not half supplied.

Millions of jobless men—  
Idle, hungry, roofless, shabby men  
With ten million women and children dependent upon  
them,  
Wandering, aimlessly over twenty-three hundred mil-  
lion acres  
Of land that is mostly fertile and mostly idle—  
Idle, vacant, unused land—and a starving people!

Millions of jobless men—  
In an idle, vacant, unused land broad enough  
To house without crowding every human being in the  
world—  
Rich enough to support without exhausting  
All the population of the world—  
Its own few people but partly housed, fed and clothed!

Millions of jobless men—  
Clerks, bookkeepers, artisans, laborers, all the pro-  
fessions—  
Men with nothing to do, who can find no work,  
While two million stunted children labor in mines and  
mill  
And needy women must sell their sex for food—  
Millions and millions of jobless men!

Millions of jobless men—  
And millions of poorly paid men who get barely  
enough to sustain their families,  
And millions of women on the streets, and millions of  
hungry children,  
Plus millions of mortgaged homes, and millions of bu-  
siness bankrupts,  
In twenty-three hundred million acres of inexhaustible  
richness not a thousandth part of which has been  
touched!

Millions of jobless men—  
And twenty million human dolts content to live in hell—  
To lecture, write, legislate, investigate, resolve and vote  
To "cure unemployment!" with a learned President  
And a cabinet and a congress of economic students  
Who institute Employment Bureaus to feed the hungry,  
jobless, idle men tramping over idle, vacant un-  
developed land!

Millions of jobless men—  
And ten million legislators, judges, detectives, soldiers,  
sheriffs, constables and policemen  
With clubs, guns, bayonets, legal process, penal code,  
prisons, handcuffs, dungeons, and gallows  
To keep these million jobless men from going on the  
idle, naked, fertile acres  
And feeding themselves, their women and children!

LUKE NORTH.

(From "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry").

class is sufficient evidence. How stubbornly and brazenly it opposes the smallest attempt to cut down its profits in order to add a little to the meagre income of the laboring masses! What hope is there that a class so devoted to its class interests, so in love with its prerogatives, so greedy of power, so lacking in wider social consciousness, will submissively resign its privileged position? In the light of all our experiences with that class we must regard all hope in class-collaboration, in the softening of class antagonism and in the gradual metamorphosis of a thieving profit system into a fair and square service system as a pure pipe dream.

It is evident that the capitalist regime is decrepit and is becoming more and more subject to the ills and weaknesses of old age; nevertheless like all other practical social systems it has not the slightest intention to abdicate or retire, surely not in favor of Socialism. If caught in a very bad jam the capitalists are more likely to share their spoils and power with some new ruling class rather than to give them up completely.

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And here we stumble on a plausible explanation of the most puzzling phenomenon of our time—the rise of Fascism. The mystery of Fascism clears up in the light of the decrepitude of the capitalist regime. If Capitalism may be somewhat roughly and loosely defined as a social system in which the capitalist rules supreme, Fascism is a system in which the capitalist shares his power with the "strong man". It is the penalty of old age! While young and lusty the capitalist order needed democracy for its expansion; now that it is senile and asthmatic it must lean on the strong arm of the political bully. Capitalism has developed a new badly needed profession—that of the dictator, who uses skilfully lying and treachery supplemented with blood and iron to keep the masses from obtaining for themselves a larger share of the goods they produce.

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Will Fascism survive? If it does, how will the partnership between money bag and strong-arm man work out? Who will finally emerge as senior partner? Will the new regime remain fairly pure and undiluted Capitalism or will it evolve into something new, some cross between Capitalism and Feudalism? Can such a malignant form of the Bourgeois system last? Will it be able to stand the competition of "free" Capitalism, of a Capitalism not handicapped by the addition of another batch of parasites, who in the bargain shade all remaining free activities of the people?

Has the Fascist infection already run its course or will it attack new countries? Have the countries with old democratic traditions enough vitality and immunity to withstand and throw off the new plague? France, England and the United States do show some slight symptoms of infection, though so far the symptoms are not alarming. But how about the future?

These and many other problems offer themselves to our theoretic solution. Never was there a time so contradictory and perplexing, with a strange and unexpected form of Socialism—if it is Socialism—struggling to emerge with modernity making fantastical alliances with the Middle Ages, with atavistic chauvinism threatening the very foundations of civilization. Unfortunately there are no Marxes and Kropotkins around to aid us in our difficulties.

Perhaps the masses themselves will help us out; they will awake, rise in their might, release their potential energies and change so to say the temperature and atmosphere of our times. They will create a new atmosphere, favorable not only to idealistic emotion and energetic action, but also to clear, creative thinking.

Here and there and even in our sluggish America the toiling masses do show some signs of life. The depression, now in its 6th year, is having its effect. Perhaps it is a prologue to some great drama; and such dramas, according to history, often lead to a spiritual and intellectual rebirth. Profound social revolutions are also intellectual revolutions; they are creative and releasing in every way, they remove a lot of inhibitions that prevent men from seeing clearly and thinking vigorously.

The rising tide of proletarian revolt may creatively intervene and clear up the present world chaos.

DR. J. GLOBUS.

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The world is founded on thought and ideas, not on cotton and iron.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

# UNDER THE IRON HEELS OF GOVERNMENT

## Italy

According to information received by Giustizia e Libertà' more than 500 political prisoners, who were living on the islands of Ponza and Ventotene as exiles, have been brought to Naples, to be tried there for rebelliousness. Some of them have already stood their trial and been sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 4 to 14 months. The trials were conducted behind closed doors. The deported persons all belong to the administrative exiles, that is to say, they are persons to whom no single crime could be imputed, but who have been suspected or are simply not trusted.

In what did the rebelliousness, which led to these sentences, consist? It consisted in the refusal of the prisoners to subject themselves to the complete arbitrariness of the fascist regime. As a protest against the withdrawal of certain facilities, which have now existed for 9 years—the right to hire a room, at one's own expense, in the house of one of the inhabitants of the islands—, and which, in view of the prison conditions, is a vital necessity, 287 prisoners on Ponza refused to make use any more of the police safe-conducts to walk freely during the day about the island, and the prisoners of Ventotene would not accept any more the grant of 5 francs a day. The prisoners had tried, by conferences with the prison authorities, to get the new, and absolutely unreasonable regulations, cancelled, but without result. Relations, who came to institute an enquiry on Ponza, were ill-treated.

Consequently, the country that feels herself called upon to civilize the Abyssinians, people, who have kept a sufficient sense of their own personal worth, so as not to allow themselves to be treated as slaves, are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. In addition even one of them is continuously exposed to espionage. On 24 May the above-mentioned paper reported that apparently a new wave of terror is passing over Italy. Domiciliary visits have been paid to Prof. Mario Carrara and his wife Paolo Lombroso, Mrs. Barbara Allason, a well known writer, Prof. Augusto Monti, Prof. Geymonat, a philosopher. A large number of persons, as well as the above mentioned living at Turin, were arrested. Dr. Giulio Einandi, a son of Senator Luigi, a well known publisher, Prof. Cesare Povese, Dr. Umberto Bobbio, Prof. Dr. Franco Antonicelli, Prof. Dr. Massimo Mila, Dr. Giulio Muggia, Dr. Piero Luzzatti, Carlo Foa, the lawyer, Dr. Carlo Levi, Prof. Michele Giua, Prof. Dr. Battista Pizzardo, are among those arrested. There are rumours that several women of importance have been arrested, and also Dr. Luigi Salvatorelli, Gino Levi, engineer and Prof. Umberto Cosmo. In Milan, too, a large number of intellectuals have been placed under arrest, among them being Dr. Bruno Maffi, and Dr. Ermanno Bartellini.

Most of the arrested persons are well-known writers or physicians.

Hugo Treni, also called Fedeli, extradited by Uruguay to Italy in spite of the protests made by labour organizations, and among others by the I.A.M.B., has been exiled to the Island for 5 years. (With "the Islands" are meant Ponza, Ventotene, etc.)

Medical treatment on these Islands leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless Germani, a physician sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment and 5 years exile on account of his attempt to help the widow of Matteotti to escape abroad, was tried for practising medicine on Ponza, he being unqualified to do so, since he is not a member of the Fascist Corporation of Physicians. Foreign friends had supplied him with instruments through the intermediary of Sylvia Pankhurst, but apparently the "unplanned economy" of the fascist state did not permit him to help his Comrades.

It would be foolish to allow oneself to be lulled to sleep by the fact that Italy has now accepted arbitration in her difference with Abyssinia. A few days after the famous "victory" of the League of Nations she calls up fresh troops. She continues to ship troops to East Africa and does not stop her war preparations by any means. What do the Italian people think of these war preparations? The answer runs: in spite of the police terror there is opposition everywhere. Here follow some facts extracted from Giustizia e Libertà' of 31 May last.

February: In various places irregularities occurred among the troops; soldiers of the division Peleritana threw their head-coverings into the sea as an expression of their opposition.

March: Divisions belonging to a regiment engineers snatched the flags from the hands of the demonstrating fascists, who had come to be present at their departure from the station of Turin, and trod upon these flags.

April: Soldiers of the division Gavirana mutinied at Pistoria, (Tuscany.)

May: Soldiers of the 67th infantry, in garrison at Come, left their barracks in a mass and directed their steps, protesting against the war, towards the former socialistic cooperation at Rebbo. The troops at Savigliano Coni made opposition. At Genes women entered the barracks, protesting against the departure of their husbands and sons. A fight took place between them and the police. Several women were wounded and arrested. During the last of this month a mutiny broke out among the troops belonging to a regiment of black shirts at the moment of their departure from Florence. Armed police, revolvers in their hands, managed to quell the revolt, and compel the mutineers to depart.

(Press Service International Anti-Militarist Commission)

## Russia

In the fatherland of the workers the bureaucracy acts just as brutal, just as inhumanly, just as basely as in the Spain of the landlords, in Fascist Italy and the Clerico-fascist Austria or Nazi-Germany. In the country of the "proletarian dictatorship" it is mostly men with a revolutionary socialist past or young people who oppose the fixation and monopolization of the revolution, who have become victims of the dictatorship. In Press Service 157 we published an appeal of the International Committee against the anti-proletarian oppression in Russia. A large section of the revolutionary movement still keeps silent about the most recent measures of the Stalinist regime. Among the thousands of victims arrested a short time ago (social democrats, left socialists, oppositional communists and anarchists) are:

SANDOMIRSKI, old militant anarchist, a political convict during the Czarist regime; he supported the Bolsheviks to the utmost;

NOVOMIRSKI likewise a political prisoner during the Czarist regime, a well-known writer, capable contributor to the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, whose only crime was that he refused to deny his anarchist views;

ASKAROV, a political prisoner during Czarism; took a prominent part in the October, 1917 revolution; has been prosecuted several times already;

GAGGI, has lived for 13 years in Russia, having gone in exile from Italy. Has been in prison since 4 January 1935. Has still to undergo 30 years of imprisonment in Italy for revolutionary activities. (Anarchist);

CALLIGARIS, oppositional communist, who sought refuge in Russia after having been sentenced several times in Italy and undergone 5 years deportation on the Islands;

MERINI, formerly representative of the Communist Young People with the Comintern; likewise an Italian militant and subjected to imprisonment and deportation there;

H. OTELLO and DI MODUGNO, both Italian emigrants.

Further, the anarchist A. Baron has been again arrested and exiled to Tobolsk. Nothing is known yet about the fate of Corda Alexandrovitch (see press service 154). Nobody knows either what will become of the Italian anarchist Petriti, who has been exiled to Astrakan or of the famous communist writer Victor Serge, deported to Orenburg. Of the Mensheviks have been arrested Peschhoff, Zacharow, Kutchin and Isidor Ramischwili. Peschhoff and Zacharow have been guilty of the crime of sending with some others a

telegram of congratulation in connection with the formation of the alliance between the French communists and social democrats. Ramischwili, 78 years of age, was first exiled to Turkestan. After having received permission to return to his native country, he went to live in Tiflis. But after three months he was compelled to leave this town. From this moment another period of suffering began, because he was driven away from all towns, the last time from the village he was born in. This old man, who has to care for his wife and mother-in-law, does not know where to go.

Subjected to the utmost arbitrariness, sick and miserable, hundreds of upright revolutionaries drag out a miserable existence in Russia. They have no right. When the government of the Dutch East Indies exiles its political opponents to Boven-Digoel, by administrative orders, that is, without any trial, a regular storm of protests is evoked. But if the Soviet Government subjects Comrades, who have fought on principle and effectively against suppression and exploitation, to the same and often still worse treatment, the revolutionary conscience is silent. How long still will people be willing to cover with a mantle of love the crimes of the "Soviet" Government, committed against men who have been ready to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of humanity?

(Press Service International Anti-Militarist Commission)

## Spain

### To the workers of all Nations!

A cowardly, brutal, and pitiless repression is actually taking place in the whole of Spain. In cruelty it is worse than the terrible procedures of the middle-age epoch in our history; those famous procedures which forever and ever have left a dark spot, a stain of shame upon the faces of our people; this in spite of the sterile efforts of our zealous patriots to uproot from the history of our country the dark legends and wash away the defilement with beautiful academic speeches and pieces of literature. The terrible deeds of our present masters give us the best ideas of what authority has been able to accomplish in time past; to subdue its own people and to subjugate the colonies. To-day our people are again harnessed to the chariot of forfeiture through the fault of those who boasted to have put it upon the path of civilization and democracy.

Time has not in the least weakened the sadistic instincts of authority. Modern ideas, which among others, affirm with reason the final inefficacy of the means of repression, have not in any way influenced the masters. To save the capitalistic order these masters of today use the same means of revenge against rebels whether legal or not which in time gone by were adopted to maintain the power of the church or to sustain absolutism. The gallows and dagger have been replaced by more expeditive weapons topped off by the murderous bullet. The Inquisition's tortures: hot iron balls, chevalet and wheel, have been replaced by guns, matrake. Other and more refined means of tortures are being inflicted in underground cells of the modern police station. The secret courts of the Dominicans have been surpassed by the "swiftest" justice of martial courts. Correction houses, modern prisons and concentration camps succeeded the old galley. Under other names and forms it is still the same official terror which governs.

As fast as the methods of capitalistic exploitation penetrated Spain and even as the working masses started to defend themselves against the new intruders, killings, deportations, imprisonments, and summary executions of workers increased. The least protestation with a touch of collectivity caused a severe repression. It is thus that the field-workers of Andalusia and the city workers of Catalonia got the first bloody bath as a result of the shooting. Pioneers of the movement, they experienced before others the chains of the modern cells. Already under Isabelle, the second, arrested workers were frequently knocked down in . . . (attempting to escape . . .) and city workers were often victims of torture in the police headquarters. From all that sprang forth the fame of the Andalusian scaffold and the famous ditches of the Montjuich fortress at Barcelona; this as late as the end of last century.

A veritable panic took hold of the Spanish population under the impression of the wild and bloody violence of the successive governments. An immense clamor of worldly reprobation and hatred soon arose against the everlasting cruelties of the Spanish Tyrants. The events of Montjuich in the year 1909 revolted the conscience of all honest people. The assassination of defenseless prisoners in 1917 at Madrid revealed the criminal character of the public powers of our land. Between 1918 and 1923 the revengeful anger of authority in Spain surpassed all measures. During this time, tens of thousands of workers were beaten and deported. A great number of workers, militant in the labor movement, have been assassinated by the bosses' gangs or by the State's agents. More than one thousand militant forerunners of the CNT fell victim to these evil deeds. Some were killed at street-corners and others slain after their arrest. The total number of anarchist workers and non-organized working-men who fell victim to the repression is incalculable.

Torquemada and Arribes were the symbols of social injustice in our country during the middle ages—in our own time let us cite the names of Martinez, Anido, and Arlegui. All men who fell victim to contemporary capitalism during the last decade were militant in our movement. Comrades sharing witlessly and entirely the anarchistic ideas by participating in the social fight against the reign of crime under the influence of anarchism. This movement started to gain the sympathy and approbation of the masses since 1869. No one can deny that we were always the only ones in Spain who were continually fighting against the brutalities of State and Capitalism. This fight grew in vigor in 1918. The social history of our people is the one of the Spanish National Confederation of Labor (the CNT) and of anarchism.

They might perhaps tell us that the long series of crimes we have just related have been the work of the monarchy. Well, let us remind you of the deeds of our democrats and so-called socialists. A few days after the proclamation of the second republic—in 1931—at the very moment when the height of public platforms fell upon the masses and the flood of speeches full of sweet lyricism clouded the people with treacherous flattery, the glorious civil guard savagely dispersed in the little village of Pasajes, near San Sebastian, a pacific manifestation of starving fishermen of whom eight were killed and several wounded. A little later such events as this were repeated at Jérica, Burriana, Epila, Arnedo, and finally at Casas Viejas. However, the democratic and socialistic reaction which already dreamed of establishing and order of correction houses found itself at that time under a "cemetery order" in case of a mass rebellion. Reaction immediately manifested its old intolerance and passion for power which always characterized the attitudes of rulers towards the governed; the former never admitting that others could think and wish to act contrary to their view. At once, the crazy idea broke out that they could start the revolution from above in applying the same means of repression and murder as used by the dethroned tyrants. Laws upon laws were milled out against the laborious class which again were submitted to an unlimited arbitrary system. They tried to gain the approving smile and the welcome help of the industrial magnates and financial masters. Even as under the monarchy they applied deportation as an entirely normal means of fight. They prohibited any efficacious means of workers' security; they started to shoot the arrested . . . trying to escape . . . they closed all syndicates and finally made use of a systematic slandering to attack all those who tried to give the revolutionary outbreak a sense of reason in pointing out concrete aims.

The CNT, for the monarchists as well as for the republicans and socialists, will always be as a class, the accursed enemy. The new socialist State invented and applied the most inhuman means to crush us. Still, in spite of their ferocious repression which always followed our attempts to get rid of the system, our organization remained firm and ready to carry on the fight with renewed energy. In spite of our cruel loss in our fight and in spite of the great number

of our Comrades thrown into jail, exiled, or fallen upon the battle field, we tirelessly continue our fight. Without respite we prepare the final revolutionary battle; the one that will ultimately have its day. For the revolution is surely this: a continual fight during which the moral strength of the masses is progressively tempered while the masters are gradually pushed to extremes until they lose confidence in themselves and the masses understand that all the bearers of privileges and all the defenders of the given order must be liquidated.

Toward the end of 1933 at the time when the left wing parties forsook the power, the CNT initiated a vast revolutionary insurrection which was crippled by all other existing tendencies in the labor movement. There were ten thousand arrested, tortured, put to death, and otherwise persecuted under the power of Martinez Barrios, the great master of the Spanish free-masons. On the 24th of April, 1934 Leroux, the most deceitful creature granted amnesty to the chiefs of the reactionary insurrection of August 1932: to the officers and generals who at that time militantly attacked the republic to which they had given their oath of loyalty. The workers who had participated in the insurrection of December 8th, 1933, were sternly eliminated from this amnesty. Even to-day thousands of workers undergo the consequences of this republican partiality. All our efforts to obtain reparation of this injustice have been in vain. On September 7th, 1934, Marraco, radical minister, by some cunning way obtained amnesty for those who had left the country with their capital. Such an amnesty touched, before all, the wealthy monarchists who had escaped from Spain with millions of pesetas, and in so doing, created great difficulties for the country in subventioning foreign newspapers that were attacking the republic. This amnesty was granted.

Even at the present, death sentences are being passed against Comrades who took part in the December rebellion. Recently, the supreme court asked 13 death verdicts against our Alcañiz Comrades. They also practice the double trial method for offenses which legally should only carry a simple sentence. The accused, already condemned by the civil court for "his activity against the form of government" or for "agitation" etc., is yet dragged anew before the military court for "attacks against the public authorities." Moreover, the revengeful anger of civil and military judges can find plenty of other occasions to satisfy itself. In many cases, for instance, the law reserves the right to the courts to recall some offenses and specially judge them again.

From December 1933 until October 1934 the CNT had to materially aid thousands of its members—this because the republicans gave us no respite. Yet, since the October movement (and this is the best proof of the accusation of treason) the number of our imprisoned Comrades has increased so greatly that it is impossible for us to come to the assistance of our arrested and persecuted friends; the more so that the organization of the CNT urgently requires means and exceptional energy. In the Northern region itself, (San Sebastian) in the midst of the smallest regional federation which in normal times include only 5,000 members, 1000 Comrades have been apprehended. The Regional of Austria naturally reports a much higher number. We have also to consider the stream of the persecuted flowing over the entire country, and that at present the fugitives are being harbored while in hiding.

The dumvirate Leroux-Gil Robles reserves for us a treatment like that of the Martinez and Arlegui governments. As soon as the governmental troops' offensive had started against Asturia (as if the ruins produced by the action of the artillery and airplane, bombardement of Oviedo was not sufficient) frightful attacks were initiated by the troops of Arabs from the foreign legion, the civil guard, and police, against the peaceful population of the region. The working population especially were thrown into panic, for all these regiments forced their way into the workers' dwellings with bayonetted guns, first putting to death whole families then torturing those who were thought to have taken part in the fight. At Carbony 21 persons were shot down after having been tortured; some were even buried alive. At Polo de Gordon four workers died from inflicted tortures. We have quantities of documents dealing with similar facts which one day we hope to publish. In Asturia and the industrial regions of Leon not one single village was spared; almost everywhere we can count the tortured and shot down victims of whom great numbers had remained entirely out of the insurrection. Everywhere the unbridled soldiery plundered, robbed, and killed . . . More than 3000 inhabitants of this region fell victim to the fight itself or through the reprisals following it. Even now acts of savagery and man-hunt are being renewed from time to time. The number of those sentenced to death increases every day. In regard to official executions, they have hardly started.

The revengeful reaction continues getting worse in every nook and corner of the country. In the police stations prisoners are cruelly beaten. In the depths of ships' holds the confined are being submitted to a humiliating discipline. Hunger, loathness, dirt, and the bull's-pizz reign as masters. In correction houses they go back to the old methods: they beat the inmates with sticks, they chain them to the walls, and after that they allow them to remain for months and months in isolated cells so as to hide the proofs of torture. The right to murder granted to the bosses' mercenary, at the time of Martinez Anido, is to-day extended by Leroux's friendly attitude.

The civil guard has received full power to disguise the murder of any militant against whom law proceedings have been started and after that declare that he was killed while attempting to escape. Even as under the monarchy the collecting of syndicalist dues constitutes an offense. Some Comrades who by chance are sitting together in a cafe see themselves arrested and accused of having held a secret meeting. By a governmental decree all syndicates are closed and dwelling of militants are subjected to vandalistic incursions. Any man suspected by the police can be arrested as a "tramp" even though apprehended while leaving his work. Freedom of speech does not exist—an illegal hand-bill may cost its bearer from 8 to 14 years at hard labor and since the state of siege always continues in force the number of imprisoned is increasing in fantastical proportions.

We live here as in Spain of old, under a system of terror that has changed in name only. No matter who reigns: general Cisneros, Philippe 2, Ferdinand 7, Alphonse 13, Azana, Cabralero, or Leroux-Gil Robles, the base does not vary. The stick remains the supreme argument by the defenders of feudalism as well as by the defenders of the bourgeoisie and by "the workers' Republic of all classes." In Spain history has not even to repeat itself, for it is always the same. The actual situation is perhaps worse than ever because formerly the masters did not dissimilate their actions of violence but took full responsibility upon their own shoulders, while now the State, this new divinity, this omnipotent social institution, works in a cunning way in the name of the general welfare, and commits its crimes in the dark.

Workers of all countries! Exploited brothers! The CNT hindered and weakened by unbridled persecutions and in its gigantic fight loses the moral and material support of all Comrades in foreign lands so that it may continue in its fight. We appeal to your feelings of solidarity! We have charge of thousands of imprisoned Comrades. Surely each Comrade who falls in the fight for libertarian communism is being replaced by other ardent militants; but still, we must not allow those of our ranks who have been thrown into the dungeons of our enemies to perish. Our duty as revolutionaries is to put a stop to the murder of our brothers enmeshed in the claws of these modern inquisitors.

Solidarity, Comrades! The CNT, the libertarian Spain will return to you more than you can sacrifice in tirelessly continuing its fight to achieve victory—a new society based upon true justice and brotherhood.

THE NATIONAL PRO PRESSOS FOR PRISONERS COMMITTEE OF SPAIN  
(Translated by Jules Scarceriaux)

(Material aid can be forwarded through and will be acknowledged in MAN—Editor.)

## United States

Unknown to the great mass of American workers, plans have been made by the government to send a brave-spirited Texas rebel to Roumania and the gallows. Dr. John Greenberg, although unaffiliated with any organization, is accused simultaneously of being a Communist, an Anarchist, and an agitator among the Negroes. Because of his Jewish descent, Dr. Greenberg will be in a doubly precarious position if he is deported to Roumania.

Dr. Greenberg was first arrested in his home town of Waco, three years ago, and placed under \$2,500 bond. After innumerable hearings held behind closed doors, it seemed that the government had abandoned its charges. Out of a clear sky, several months ago, the government issued another warrant directing the dentist to leave for Roumania.

Only few weeks remain in which to save the life of this man who has mortally offended the plunderers and the politicians. Dr. Greenberg may be seized by representatives of "the Department of Labor" and transferred to the brutal jurisdiction of King Carol. The existing defense organizations have failed miserably to render the dentist any effective assistance. Now the struggle in his behalf must be carried directly to the masses!

As a contributor to MANI I appeal to its readers to make the Greenberg defense their own. Wide-spread resolutions, telegrams, and letters of protests to the Secretary of Labor may save his life individually, and also strengthen the fight for free speech and the right of political asylum.

HAROLD PREECE.

In a later letter Harold Preece informs us that The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born has taken up the case of Dr. Greenberg. —Editor.

## A Letter From Tom Mooney

California State Prison, San Quentin, Calif., 7-14-35

Dear Comrade Graham,

On July 27th, if I am still alive, I will have completed 19 of the best years of my life in the vile atmosphere of that capitalist bastille, San Quentin Prison. On that memorable day I begin my 20th year in prison for you, for organized labor, for the working class! Are you willing to join with my defense organization, THE TOM MOONEY MOLDERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE, for the commemoration of the nineteen years I have been buried alive in prison and to protest my continued imprisonment?

In San Francisco a mammoth mass meeting is being held in the Civic Auditorium Sunday, July 28th, at 1:00 P. M., with many outstanding speakers on the program. At this meeting will be shown the motion picture, "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney," in which I personally appear and speak. There will be no admission charge.

I am urging each and every one of my friends in California to attend this mass meeting and to arrange parties and groups and caravans to proceed to this meeting.

I know of your valiant work in behalf of political prisoners in the past, so I am writing this personal letter to you asking if you and the International Group won't help this meeting to be a success. There is an enormous amount of work to be done, and we will need volunteers in this struggle.

I am requesting that you be present at the committee meeting at my defense organization's headquarters, 1084 Howard Street (near 7th St.) which will lay the final plans for this meeting. I know that you will undoubtedly have some valuable suggestions which will contribute to making this meeting a success.

This mass meeting is in no way a united front meeting in the sense of the terms as used by the communist party, because it is frankly being sponsored by the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, whose work I personally direct.

I sincerely trust that you will be present at the committee meeting next Monday, July 22, at 7:30 P. M. which will lay out the final details of the mass meeting.

Warm proletarian greetings of solidarity,

TOM MOONEY, (31921).

\* \* \*

Tom Mooney,

31921

San Quentin, Calif.

Dear Comrade Mooney:

It is too bad that my being out of town has prevented my receiving your letter on time, or my being able to be present at the committee meeting.

The International Group, as well as myself, are fully in accord with such a protest commemoration meeting as is planned, although we would much rather have it as a protest meeting for the incarceration of Warren K. Billings as well.

We are for a united front on every injustice committed against labor, and have shown it by the mass meeting we held for Ferrero and Salito—where every labor and liberal organization—excepting the Labor Council and the Communists refused to participate. We were glad to have your sister speak in the name of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, as also to receive your contribution towards the Defense of the two men.

Although I am certain that most of our people will be present at the mass meeting, I can but at this belated moment just offer my own services to speak in the name of the International Group and MANI!

With best of wishes and greetings of solidarity,

Fraternally yours,

MARCUS GRAHAM.

I came especially from out of town in order to be ready to speak, if wanted to. In the mail there was no reply from Mooney to my letter. At the hall Anna Mooney had no time to read Mooney's letter, my answer, nor room for me as a speaker, although out of about a dozen of speakers no less than six were communist ones.

It was Alexander Berkman, the anarchist, who had been the first one to rally to the support of Billings. Mooney and all the other accused who were subsequently acquitted. It was likewise the undersigned who made a tour in 1932 throughout the country in behalf of the Billings-Mooney case, without of course any remuneration. But, just the same, neither Mooney nor his sister had room for a speaker of the anarchist movement.

As to the mass meeting itself it was a moral and material success. Whilst many of the non-communist speakers dealt with the issues of the case, it remained for the official communist party speaker to attempt in turning the mass meeting into a parrot-like chant of the new song-order from Moscow: a labor party of democrats and socialists, republicans and communists, epicureans and whatnotarians—and all these—nominating Mooney for governor of California or Mayor of San Francisco.

The unanimously adopted resolution calling for the unconditional pardon of Mooney, did not even as much as mentioned Billings.

The lack of solidarity shown by Mooney and his associates toward Billings, cannot, nor has it, aided in solidifying those sincere forces that could unite to achieve the liberation of both labor martyrs.

The film shown is very brief, and far from being a successful technical exposure of the monstrous frame-up. It affords the a lovable view of Billings as he joyfully addresses a crowd of workers, and the end of the film has a dramatic ending with the Mooney-break-down speech delivered in the jail house of San Francisco 1933.

M. G.

## A French Editor's View Of America

Recently I received a review called "Class Struggle." There is plenty of political illusions in it. But something in it appears to me more living and useful than all I have ever read in the marxian press of the States.

A colored man called Frank Griffin endeavors to explain why the "unconscious" negro worker is a revolutionist while the "conscious" white worker is not. That recalls to me Bakunin's approach of the same question. Bakunin defines revolution as an explosion of human passion, an appeal to the fresh force of the young "uncivilized" masses. On the other hand, Lenin in his most celebrated book "What's To Be Done" defines revolution as an intellectual product of scientific (marxian) knowledge, and the role of the masses being that of a mere instrument.

Another idea of the "Class Struggle" is that Europe failed to be the land of Revolution and the leading role belongs now to America, since, argue they, there we find "A higher degree of industrialization and economic centralization." This is not sound, to my opinion. It would have been all right to say that the U.S.A. is the land of the fastest capitalist disintegration and decentralization, and therefore subject to more catastrophe, greater hatred for the capitalist system and greater call and passion for liberty—to become effectively "the home of the free and the land of the brave."

I agree that unemployment in America is making the search of a good job more difficult than Revolution itself. But psychologically, the search for a job remains still easier than Revolution which implies:

1. An internal change of one's mind.

2. The possibility of a free and conscious direction of one's economic function.

The present system is based on two foundations: Mental servility and industrial civilization. In America the whole of the two is called "Americanism."

The "American" worker is the product of the "American" material and industrial civilization. There is no way of changing the forms of the financial mechanical and technocratic organization because it has no life. Every capitalist "psychology" bespeaks the complete absence of life, spirit and humanity.

Let the "American civilization" be destroyed, and human life be saved by its own capacity of turning its activity in a new sense, by the reversibility of every human passion or tendency.

The self direction of production ought to be a very simple, clear and "Manual" job; sometimes almost instinctive, inherent to productive work itself: As long as the direction of production remains a bureaucrat's or business man's job, the workers are never to be free. Not the capitalist system itself, but the pre-capitalist part of the present system, and the part of the system that the capitalist exploitation is going to give up to rust and ruins are the raw materials of the future civilization.

In the same way, the psychological or social basis of the new life is to explain the part of the human being and the right of the human races that capitalist society negate and sacrifice. It cannot be the work of circumstances or education alone.

## Sparks Of Progress

over one hundred millions look on and suffer . . .

What a bright future for our coming youth . . . Sociologists have released a report showing that from 1928 to 1933, the number of boys and girls being committed to reformatories rose 33 per cent.

The hearts of the pay-trioteers . . . Dr. Mordecai Ezckiel, economic adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, stated before the Chemical Society that various industries have curtailed production from 55 to 82 per cent, food and textile industries 10 to 28 and farmers about 5 per cent.

A representative of Christ gets arrested . . . Bert G. Leech, of the Union Theological Seminary, was ousted from Hunter College grounds when he came to deliver an address on Peace before a Peace Council student organization.

A two-pointed sword . . . The police department of New York City has acquired a new apparatus with which to subdue "rioters"—meaning of course striking or protesting workers. It is an electric glove which will issue a 1,550 volt shock to persons. An induction coil steps up the voltage and cuts the amperage to prevent burning. What would happen if workers should employ the same apparatus for resisting when attacked? The police is evidently not figuring on that.

Pass the buck—anyway . . . Attorney General Cummings refused to give an opinion as to the constitutionality of the Guffey Coal Control Bill. But he at the same time advised Congress to pass the bill, and leave the rest to the courts.

Royalty has no fear from Socialists . . . The recent wedding of Princess Ingrid and Crown Prince Frederick of Sweden disclosed (according to the N. Y. Times) that the "Socialist Sweden loves its royalty" and "shows no wish whatsoever to do away with its kings and queens." (The present government of Sweden is in Socialist hands.)

Progress indeed! . . . In describing the July 14 celebration at Lyons, France, Anne O'hare McCormick writes in the N. Y. Times of July 15:

"Yesterday the Communists for the first time carried the Tricolor in addition to their red banners . . . and demanded a revolution strangely similar to President Roosevelt's new deal."

BERT HILLSIDE.

# IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

## Mussolini's War Upon East Africa

The blunt frankness with which Mussolini is marching on with his war preparations upon Ethiopia is no less amazing than his readiness to admit that his motives are none too holy. "Expansion", unto or rather annexation, of the greater part of East Africa for the purpose of exploiting the vast riches of that part of the globe is the frank admission of Mussolini. The protests of Great Britain and French "statesmen" have only brought the retort—that they too are out for the same things, if they could only get them. America's "statesmen", although reluctant at first, finally joined in with the protests of their allied brethren.

Not one single government in the world has had the decency or honesty to rise in a frank defence of his most shameless attempt to rob a people of whatever riches they might possess. Even the ultra "r-r-r-revolutionary" Bolshevik government of Russia has maintained the policy of being deaf and dumb to what is being perpetrated. One supposes—all for the sake of "safeguarding the proletarian fatherland" . . . Nay?

It is no exaggeration to assert that never in our modern history has such perfidy and sheer brutal audacity been displayed by the various government officials of the world as in this Ethiopia-Italy conflict.

To a certain degree all other powers, excepting that of Italy, would not like to begin a world slaughter just now. The economic stabilization of each country is far from being safe. Wars are known to end often in revolutions, even in *social revolutionary upheavals*. And none of the world's statesmen want that which would bring about their own end.

Why then is Italy the sole exception? Every well informed journalist who has been in Italy or Europe contends that there was nothing else left for Mussolini to do except to embroil that unfortunate country in a war. His power is fast waning. The iron-clad shirt in which he has cast the people of Italy is slowly falling apart. The prisons and islands are filled with dissenting men and women of all walks of life. Mutinies of soldiers is becoming the order of the day. (See elsewhere in this issue Italy—Under Iron Heels of Government.) Foreign journalists who dare to send out the truth as to the economic break down now going on there are forthwith ordered out of the country. The conservative *N.Y. Times* is forbidden entry—because it has dared to hint at the fast toppling throne of Benito Mussolini.

This picture explains then everything. His war upon East Africa is but an attempt to save his own neck by the hope of bringing on a reign of frenzied nationalism and chauvinism. The first to suffer the most will of course be all those elements who have shown any dissenting attitude to the reign of Mussolini. But unless—all lessons of the past world's history are false—this last stand of Mussolini—will bring about his own end as certain as the light of day follows the darkness of the night.

And there is not a soul throughout the world which beats for freedom that does not await with suspense to greet and rejoice over the foredoomed end of the monster Benito Mussolini, and of every other similar tyrant in the world as well.

## The Merry Circus Goes On

The Wagner National Labor Relations Bill has become a law—until the U.S. Supreme Court will undoubtedly declare it unconstitutional.

The Social Security Bill has been likewise enacted as a law, and it too faces now the ax of the holy-monk executioners in behalf of the exploiters and rulers of the country.

The Taxation of Wealth Measure already made known by Mr. Roosevelt, is sort of an advance feeler upon which he is to run for re-election the forthcoming year. The new-dealer-president is not at all in any hurry to have the measures passed at this Congress. If he would have insisted, it too would no doubt have faced the same fate with the U.S. Supreme gentry as his *NRA* scheme. So, Mr. Roosevelt prefers to wait till next year. After getting elected upon this new wealth tax scheme, he will no more have to worry about the Supreme Court declaring it as unconstitutional, than he has been worrying about the *NRA* being declared unconstitutional.

And thus the merry circus ballyhoo around the *New Deal* keeps on unfolding its bag of tricks just as the magician has already a new trick before the old one has been fully realized.

It is childish and naive, if not worse, for sincere people to ever have expected any real solution to the problems which confront the greater part of the 136,000,000 people of the country, through such merry-go-round circus tricks as the magician Mr. Roosevelt has been bringing forth again and again.

The whole gentry surrounding Mr. Roosevelt are doing their very best to preserve the present order of exploiting the masses, only in a more "reasonable" manner. They never have had any intention to bring about an end of the exploitation of man, by man, nor for that matter, the rule of man over man. In this latter respect—their aim is to strengthen the rule of man over man to a degree never dreamed of by a Jefferson or Paine.

Our position may be viewed by some as too pessimistic or critical, but it is nevertheless a true and consistent one. We have never believed that any of the *new deal* schemes aim at hitting straight at the root of the evils from which we suffer. Nor do we think that through the road of politics and government—even if Mr. Roosevelt were a ten-fold more sincere than he is not—could a real change in the economic and political life have been brought about.

Freedom and Justice cannot be handed out on a

platte by any politician or government, since every politician and government can only survive as long as the great masses are deprived of both freedom and justice alike. And whatever freedom and justice the people have ever attained, or will do so in the future, has been and will have to be attained over the heads of every politician and government.

To free ourselves from the subjugation of England's domain, we had to revolt in a revolution. To free ourselves from the exploiters who rob us, and rulers who protect the exploiters—we most certainly must revolt as well. Only instead of it being a revolution for an insignificant national home rule, it will have to be a *social revolution to bring about a new society* based upon the genuine principles of *equality of opportunities to each and all alike*, in order to be able to live as free human beings.

## Teachers Beginning To See The Light

For those who look upon teaching as an aid in the progressive growth of the human mind to appreciate the more beautiful and just in life, and both of which are lacking so lamentable, the stand of the National Education Association at Denver, this year, is most heartening. The gathering certainly hit the painful boil to which radicals always pointed at when it declared in a resolution that:

*"The National Education Association believes that administrators, teachers and schools should have full opportunity to present different points of view on all controversial questions in order to aid students to adjust themselves to their environment and to changing social conditions."*

The independent teacher as heretofore been helpless to assert himself or herself. He or she was always held in check by the donors and rulers of the community. The convention's decision to unite with all national organizations in a fight for asserting the right of academic freedom is a step in the right direction.

Only from such a course as has been taken now by the teachers of this country can one hope for a new change in the minds of the future generation whose fate is destined to meet far more vast social changes than we are faced with at present.

## Politics, Government and Lobbies

The manner in which the house of representatives of U.S. was gotten to vote for the kind of a Utility Holding Company Bill approved by the Public Utility Corporations for the mere sum (according to testimony given by its Utility executive Philip H. Gadsen) of \$700,000 is no flattering compliment to the honesty of the 500 congressmen. (One should bear in mind that no less than 600 lobbyists are at work at all times—in seeing to it—that "our representatives should vote in accordance with the "needs" and "wishes" of the exploiters and robbers of the people.)

If all these disclosures were not explosive enough, along comes Mr. Brewster, republican congressman of Maine, and charges the administration of Mr. Roosevelt with an attempt to force him in being absent from voting, or face a halt upon the Passamaquoddy tide-harnessing project of his own State.

And the merry-go-round of hurling "liar" and "hypocrite" that accompanies every investigation is not missing in this latest one on lobbying.

Politics—denoting trickery, government—denoting dishonest rule, and lobbying—denoting the go-between politics and government, are but a triumvirate that simply cannot be beat.

Who pays the bill for all the rottenness, deceit and crookedness that surrounds this triumvirate? You and we—everyone of us—who lets these human scourges and leeches live and grow fat upon the backs of our own suffering and misery.

And as long as there will remain in our midst one man ruling over another—we shall have with us politics, government and lobbies.

## Cuba and Social Conditions

Those who follow events in the unfortunate American exploited Cuba cannot be shocked by the non-too gentle and abrupt manner in which the American sugar interests' Cuban government seized and deported the 15 men and women who came to investigate social and labor conditions there.

But why our liberal friends and pro-communists should choose such needless long travels in order to investigate social and labor conditions is beyond one's comprehension...

We, as inhabitants, not daring to say citizens, of this "golden" state of the union—California—extend an invitation to investigate conditions in our own state. And we assure you—the deported committee of 15 from Cuba—that you will find plenty to investigate here, for instance:

Why Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney were ever framed and are still behind prison bars.

Why Upton Sinclair was elected governor, but Merriam is in the governor's chair.

Why the liberal Scripps-Howard S.F. *News* omitted in printing its paid-for syndicated Heywood Broome articles on the San Francisco General Strike, as well as on the campaign of Upton Sinclair for governor, and why it is now omitting his column 3-4 times a week.

Why and how the federal, state and local governments are blind to every outrage that is being perpetrated by the vigilantes, who in reality are but the exploiters of this state.

Why the same federal, state and local authorities are carrying on a determined effort here, as well as in

every other part of the country, to bring about the destruction of our publication.

And, should your committee still find time, we shall be glad to furnish them with a list of other states in our benighted union where similar injustices, if not worse ones, have taken place.

All these thoughts come to one's mind not because the action of the Cuban puppet rulers are being approved. On the contrary: because we know how futile it is in trying to expose injustice abroad, when one is so weak in succeeding to do the same missionary work at home . . . where it is most needed.

## A Third Party

Readers of *MAN!* will recall editorial remarks about the long pregnant third party that has had so many mothers most willing to bring it into this turbulent world. At last tho, the happy tidings can be broadcast: the child has been born in the first week of July at Chicago.

Many there were assembled at the birth of the new third party who had nothing but the sincerest of intentions, just as there were plentiful of dubious politicians ready to plunge into the swim of a non-as-yet polluted stream of water. In its 14 point platform the new party attempts to cover a lot of ground, but in reality doesn't get very far. Not much farther than the platitudes of social security so often broadcasted by Mr. Roosevelt. And just as Mr. Roosevelt is loath to touch the fundamental roots of our rotten-to-the-core system of injustice of the present order, the new third party matches him quite well.

Every device already enunciated by the economist-apologists of the present order is repeated and incorporated in the platform of the new third party: the present system of economic and political injustices is to be patched and propped up, but not discarded.

The new party hopes to draw into its fold the socialists as well as the A.F.O.L. politicians, the communists as well as the liberal democrats and republicans. With all these political alliances in the bag the new party hopes to win very easily the workers and farmers of the country.

Supposing then the impossible: that the new party were to come out victorious in the forthcoming presidential election—would all the 14 points of the new party meet any different fate at the hands of the Supreme Court than those similar laws espoused by Mr. Roosevelt? In that event—would the new party rulers do any more or less than Mr. Roosevelt is doing now—playing politics for his re-election?

Politics imply trickery, and any one entering its domain, must sooner or later end as a trickster and betrayer of the people's faith and trust.

It cannot be too often repeated: economics and political freedom will never be achieved by and through the aid of any political party. All such parties will always prove as the worst stumbling blocks to such an achievement. Furthermore, the only ones who can obtain economic and political freedom are those that need it the most, and are now being deprived of it—the people themselves. And whenever the people get ready to obtain these direct needs, it will not be, as it never has been in the history of the past, through the road of politics, but through the road of rebellion, the road of the social revolution.

## Three Deaths

In the passing of Fremont Older, Jane Adams and Alfred Dreyfus the thinking world has lost three figures that have symbolized with their lives certain phases in our life that are worthy of notice.

Fremont Older has meant at one time very much to the rising insurgency of that part in our youth that was seeking for truth and justice in government, only to find itself disillusioned in the end. Had Older died before acceding to become a silent co-worker of the despicable Wm. R. Hearst, he would have left an unblemished name for himself as the champion reformer of a lost cause.

Jane Adams will undoubtedly go down in American history as one of the few outstanding women whose heart has beaten for those things in life that symbolize more justice for the greater masses throughout the world. Her readiness to sit sometimes at one table with politicians really prevented her great personality from exercising the great influence that she might possibly have exerted upon many important events in life.

Alfred Dreyfus will perhaps be more remembered in the future by the eloquent defence which Emil Zola made in his behalf, as a wronged Jew, than for his having been the central figure of the drama which threatened to disgrace France. The thoughtful France has certainly more to be thankful to the efforts of Emil Zola to clear Dreyfus than to those already forgotten discreditable figures who concocted the shameful frame-up against Alfred Dreyfus, for his being of Jewish decent. It should also not be let go unparsed, the fact, that the *first exposure* of the frame-up against Dreyfus was made by the anarchist Bernard Lazear, and this in turn brought Zola's attention to the case. The radical movement of France has likewise greatly benefited in the end from this case which had its inception with the most reactionary forces of that period.

Dreyfus never realized those social factors in our topsy turvy world that are the chief fomentors of race-hatred and race-prejudice. Had he realized this, he would have allied himself after having been vindicated, with those forces who are carrying on the battle for the dawn of a day when race hatred shall no longer blot our lives.

MARCUS GRAHAM.



## DIVERSE OPINIONS

### On Legal Defense

NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE  
22 East 17th Street, New York City  
June 5 1935.

Editor MAN!

We would like to comment on your article in the April issue on the subject of the recent convictions for criminal syndicalism in Sacramento.

We entirely agree with you as to the nature of the sentence imposed: it is a crime against the entire working class and can be used as the basis for increased anti-labor drives throughout the country.

Nor have we anything against the idea of utilizing a general strike, when a strike can be obtained, for the purpose of winning the release from prison of men and women innocent of any crime except organizing a union to fight for higher wages. Surely, in all these legal cases the voice of masses of people is not ignored by judge or jury.

We do not, however, set legal defense off against such mass actions as strikes and the like, but rather regard both as integral parts of a single defense against the persecutions of the state. The attorney (and he does not always demand a high fee) presents the jury with legal arguments which it can use as an excuse for an acquittal in those cases where it feels that the masses will resent a conviction. He enables the prisoner to find his way through the technical maze of the court's procedure. He has a dozen other uses. To rely solely on the attorney is suicide; to discard him altogether is to gamble with the prisoner's fate.

We call these ideas to your attention because the Sacramento convictions are soon to be appealed and we will again retain an attorney on behalf of Norman Mini, one of the convicted workers who refused the probation recommended by the jury. We want your readers and followers to support our fight, both in the field of public agitation and by contributing to the defense fund.

We shall make every effort to create a united defense jointly with the International Labor Defense (which represents seven prisoners) and other interested organizations. In this case, in the Ferrero-Sallito case which we are publicizing in the East, and in all similar cases, there is a broad class interest which far outweighs the interest of any single current in the labor movement. We urge you to support the work of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense in the Sacramento appeal, and to back the fight of all the eight prisoners.

Fraternally,  
HERBERT SOLOW.  
for the Executive Board.

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### The Trend Toward Fascism

Have you given thought to another angle of our present times that may be construed as in the trend toward Fascism and that is that in most cities throughout the country no labor union meetings other than those of the A. F. L. are permitted, hence that union functions by and with the aid of the police locally, and of the Government. This I must assure you is no idle thought as during my 30 years membership in the machinists union considerable of which time was devoted to its official work makes my observation no idle guess. Way back in 1915 and earlier I was the Business Agent in Detroit and many were the meetings in which Joe Labadie, Agnes Ingils, Bill Shattoff, Alexander Berkman, Nolds, Cascaden and myself made plans for lectures and printed propaganda and now I'm stuck up here in the state that has always set itself up as moral conscience of the nation.

\*\*\* ERNEST SCHLEIFER.

### "Crepe" Hangers?

Dear Graham:

I don't remember what the Progressive Columnist is or where it is. If they are still going, it certainly could not do any harm for me to call their attention to the government's persecution of you.

Free Acres is getting along first rate. I withdrew from it about three of four years because I thought they ought to learn to stand on their own feet; and they have done just as well since, except that, like the rest of mankind, they make laws for one another, which they didn't do under my guidance.

I didn't know you had spoken there. I wish you could speak again. I am sure the enclosed will interest you.

I think that one of the things that militates against the popularity of such a paper as yours, (if there ever was such another paper as yours), is that people favorably inclined, find it depressing and no suggestion of a way out that is in the least at present practicable.

You know when people find anything discouraging, they call the prophet a "crepe hanger."

Personally, I see no imaginable way of getting anarchy except through the taking of the rent of the land for the people instead of taxes. I think this may come almost any day through the example of some of the many countries who have gone part of the way or as desperation by some busted government.

Yours cordially,

BOLTON HALL.

The Columnist referred to is writing in *The Progressive*, published at Madison, Wisconsin. His interesting comments were made last year—after the first attack by the government against MAN! As to our Friend Bolton Hall labelling us as "crepe-hanger" prophets—we have very little to offer as defense. In fact we plead guilty. Still, we wonder as to whether present society with all its deadening evils isn't the more to blame for our being crepe-hangers than we who are heralding the

### "If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack"—WENDELL PHILLIPS

Dawn of a Tomorrow—when the whole of mankind shall at last begin to live in the fullest of joy and contentment?

As to achieving anarchy through a single tax method enforced by a government, our Friend Bolton Hall knows that we disagree—fundamentally speaking.—Editor.

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### From Pierre Ramus

Dear Comrade Marcus Graham:

Let me thank you very much for the parcel of MAN! which I received (besides the newest number) which makes a very interesting reading to me. The only fault I find with MAN! is that it does not appear more often—and I fear this is not the fault of the paper, but of our own Comrades, lacking the proper appreciation of the most excellent service just MAN! is doing for our mutual cause.

I am also very much obliged to you for your noting down my tribulations, which have at last been overcome—till next time... Because, I need hardly emphasize to you that prison has not weakened, but strength-

ened me in my convictions of over 35 years' duration...

I must correct two of your statements: I have not been sentenced to 3 years, but to 14 months (quite enough... in the measure of judicial rascality!), of which I served one year. (Compare August No. of MAN! 1934). My reprieve of two months I received unconditionally, according to the law which prescribes that any convict who has since 1919 no penalty exceeding 6 months is due to a reprieve of one third of his penalty, if he serves it in solitary confinement, which I did. They have anyhow robbed me of just one half of my last third of the penalty (Compare MAN!, March 1935). If the authorities had made me the stipulation that "I must not participate in any future agitational work," I would never have accepted such a stipulation. How the "Freidenker" could read this out of my short postcard, is incomprehensible to me. I am and will remain all my life a propagandist of Anarchism, although, being now in the position of our dear Comrade Malatesta, I must know how to act with the least possible avoidable loss of energy and vitality...

PIERRE RAMUS.

### Notes From Chicory Corners

More than likely I'm wrong, but tentatively I maintain that the blood atonement doctrine of the Semitic root-religions, now motivating Christianity, is the heart principle of war and militarism. Hence, I persist foolishly, fondly, feverishly in fighting religious perversity and religious obsolescence as my contribution toward making Humanity free. I want to replace Good-and-Evil by Beyond-Good-and-Evil. That is where and how Metapsychology would end the menace of war by striking at the underlying religious superstitions that are always called upon to justify it, screaming blood-lust from Christian, Jewish and pagan pulpits. I love the heathen gospel of the open plain, not the secret rites and mysteries of Nile moon worshippers, Babylonian star conjurers or fear-bound pagans who live and worship in dark woods. The faith of Gautama Buddha, Jesus of Nazareth and Tom Paine of England and America is the warm, rich, kindly humanism bequeathed down through the ages by the sun-loving, joyful "heath" dwellers or heathen.

Lions and tigers do not kill elephants, at least not very often. The vegetarian strength of the pachyderm baffles the ferocious fury of the great jungle cats. There are 20,000 Anarchists in Canada and 17,000 of them are religious Anarchists, the vegetarian Doukhobors. While their orthodox Christian neighbors live largely on relief from the federal coffers of Ottawa, the Doukhobors prosperous in their peaceful industry, ask only to be allowed to till their fields and educate their children against war and governments. Envious neighbors desiring improved farm lands would like to drive the Doukhobors to Mexico, or to the Chaco where many of the Mennonites went a few years ago and are now prospering even under the crossfire of Bolivian and Paraguayan guns.

But the Doukhobors have their elephantine feet firmly planted in the furrows of the prairies. A thousand or so have been disenfranchised but they didn't want to vote anyhow. Ottawa didn't dare deport Verigin because, leaderless, his followers would admit their Canadian citizenship and obviously vote Liberal.

Huronopolis is a big town but I've seen bigger ones such as Montreal and Chicago. I've even ventured into the wilds of Brooklyn on night assignments and competed in the open labor market against Hunter College

girls, Hoosier ex-schoolmasters and budding Ingersolls working their way through St. Lawrence university law school. I've covered Canaries board of trade, the Heights Forum, the service clubs at the Bossert and St. George, and church socials and synagogue rallies far out on Kings highway. So you see I've been around a bit. I've been as far west as West Allis, Wis., and as far south as South Beach, Staten Island. I've drunk good liquor in the old Golden Dog saloon in Quebec and in Beutler's at Labadie's Landing. I can argue eloquently that Wilkes-Barre should be hyphenated because I've been there and I spent a whole day in Cleveland once. I associate Euclid avenue with Burns Lee who used to publish "The Bell Cow". She strayed too far ahead of the herd and moored herself to death in her desertion; so far into the night we clung to brass rails, faced glinting mirrors and drank liberal libations to her liberated libertarian soul.

Fight where you are, is the militant slogan of my pet school of Social Revolution; hence, encamped in Chicory Corners, I hurl defiant, if puny, insolence at the twenty-third district of Rotary.

The pacifist dearly loves a war, provided nobody gets hurt. The militarist dearly loves peace where he himself can souse himself to the gills in champagne and rare wines distilled from the blood of dumb heroes. The militarist is a sadist who sniffs with sex-perverted lust the latrinal fumes of battlefronts. The pacifist is a masochist still punishing himself with the barbed white feathers of the last war because he wasn't and still isn't brave enough or crazy enough to die fighting to make the world safe, easy and free for Hitlers, Stalins and Mussolini. It's a cock-eyed world, I tell you.

Maybe you'll want to hear again (maybe you won't) from Chicory Corners, where Ale Street runs into Chou Plaza. The right name for Ale Street is the name of an airplane lost at sea in an advertising stunt to advertise somebody's amber ale. Chou Plaza is suggested by Lem's restaurant where I discuss Ow Gow (Taoism) with Lem and try very hard to get the pronunciation of Lao-Tze, the venerable anarchist of ancient Cathay. And in a cheap luncheon the HavaJava club discusses anarchism, metaphysics, occultism and whatnot, Selah.

NEIL TURNSPUR.

### Luigi Fabbri

The month of June has seen the Anarchist movement deprived of one of its most outstanding figures. The Italian Comrade Luigi Fabbri died in Montevideo, Uruguay, where he had been an exile from Italy for the last seven years.

Fabbri was about sixty years of age and had spent almost forty years of his life in the Anarchist movement. His unequalled character, his natural goodness and exceptional broadminded interpretation of human and social problems; his proverbial sense of justice and his enviable stock of knowledge and education had given him a well deserved and high ranking place as a journalist and educator in the Anarchist movement in general and the Italian, Spanish and French in particular.

Fabbri had lived the life of a revolutionary in Europe during the last half century and stood with dignity and self respect the persecution of the Italian Fascist regime up to 1926, when, life becoming actually impossible in Italy, he, like innumerable other Comrades and enemies of Fascism, was forced into exile, first in France and then in Uruguay, where he ended his noble and useful life. It is a great loss for us.

We don't feel that we can write about this latest lost Comrade in an informative manner, but we hope that in some future issue we will be able to print an adequate biographical sketch which might give to our readers an idea about our Comrade's work and activities which will never be lost, in spite of his untimely departure.

Meanwhile, to the family down in Uruguay, and the Italian Comrades, naturally more close to his life, goes our deepest and sincere sympathy.

MANI

Every useful function, now performed by government, can better be performed by the individual, self elected and self authorized, than by a constituted government whatsoever.—STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

\*\*\* M. G.

The will of man is by his reason swayed.—William Shakespeare.

# ART AND LITERATURE

## The Passion Of Sacco And Vanzetti \*

Justice, the whore goddess,  
Adjusts lambent robes,  
And from senescent lover asks her price:  
The severed heads in the loaded scales,  
The blood dripping on the cobbled floor.  
"They deem me blind,  
"They who see my eyes bandaged  
"Against too much seeing:  
"Serfs harnessed to forge and lathe,  
"Sunlight's glint on the bayonet,  
"An the spattered teeth of rebel slaves.  
"But come, my fee!  
"In half a hundred lands  
"Conniving men await my kiss;  
"In half a hundred lands,  
"Cells encase the seeing."  
  
Tonight, chill bars shake to a maddening chord,  
Tonight, while old agonies pace the corridors.  
A parchment-skinned ghoul tosses in his berth;  
Two men bring restlessness to dream—  
The hoarse shriek summons the porter;  
Rotting fangs chatter in abomination:  
"I paid the slut! For seven years,  
"The anarchist bastards have stanchured her gluttony.  
"Surely, learned with eighty tomes  
"Will pronounce me jurist immortal.  
Thayer, immortality is not the lifeless sequence  
Of confessions, warrants, convictions.  
Immortality is the flame from charred bodies,  
The quenchless blaze igniting the heart  
Until it too become a torch!

Sacco.  
Tomorrow after the lime encrusts our tongues,  
After the press shrieks pardon  
For Fuller and his anodes,  
Will men arise yet to dispute the fierce wrong?  
Shall tense muscles strain at the bonds?  
Will one or two walk apart  
When drums roar to slaughter,  
And sabers slit young throats?  
When with pitiless, maniac greed,  
The coins are counted  
And the human purchase  
Rots in muddy fields?

Vanzetti.  
Need we mourn the great travail?  
The pain without balm?  
The ranks yet broken?  
Do we hope while living..  
For the redeeming holocaust?  
The world's toilers marching unconquerably  
To the commune of brothers?  
As men who sow seed in fallow acres,  
We plant for the distant yield.  
The plant, slow growing, will live,  
Though the sowers inhale no fragrance.

Sacco.  
I have paced six feet by six  
The swift vibrant years,  
Hearing deep, gathering murmurs:  
A man in a park calling to battle,  
Tempest voices crowding the streets.  
Brave, relentless words:  
"The long hour has ended  
"Our hearts intone a curse  
"For the trader and priest."  
Maneind will yet break the mold,  
Steadily, steadily chiseling the wall.

Vanzetti.  
Nicola, in Italy,  
We crushed the grapes with bare feet,  
Wincing at the bruised peels,  
Covering our ankles with the sweet syrup—  
Strong wine taunting young manhood.  
Our life fluid extracted  
Pours into fresh veins,  
Into other arteries will surge  
A warm red flood crumbling the gates.

Sacco.  
Once a girl in Sicily wooed me with soft nipples.  
A sensuous fountain doused oblivion.  
"Forget, Nicola," she whispered,  
"Those phantoms scoured from the chapel.  
"Forget orators haggling from boxes;  
"Dim conclaves in dusty rooms;  
"Profitless disputes about naught and aught."  
Even as my hands sought her bosom,  
A Comrade's veins were torn from his arms  
Like stubborn cords.

Vanzetti.  
Would we have men say of us  
That we forgot the anguish of the child in the mill  
For silken kisses and arrant eyes;  
The living tragedy of the picket-line  
For the living force of the stock exchange?

Sacco.  
Outside our cells  
Men once untouched  
By the numb, deadening pain of men,  
Gather for the first sacrament of pity.

\* Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were both judicially murdered by the authorities of Massachusetts on August 23, 1927.—Editor.

Yes, Barto, our blood transfuses theirs!  
Men chocked by comfort  
Gather courage to spread our words.

Vanzetti.

"If it had not been for these things,  
"We might have lived out our lives  
"Talking at street corners to scorning men.  
"Nicola, we are not failures!  
"This is our career and our triumph.  
"Never in our full lives  
"Could we hope to do such work  
"For tolerance, for brotherhood,  
"For man's understanding of man.  
"As now we do by accident.  
"Our words—our lives—  
"Our pains—nothing!  
"The taking of our lives:  
"Lives of a good shoemaker  
"And a poor fish-peddler—all!  
"That last moment belongs to us.  
"That agony is our triumph!"

Sacco.

They come for us—

Annually the verdant earth,  
Fertilized by new martyrs,  
Approaches nearer the harvest.  
Wearily, the aging rulers  
Toss heads into laden baskets.  
The mighty processional  
Compact of humanity awakening  
Moves. The gallows shall crumble;  
The prisons crash. The death-seat  
Corrode with dust.  
Two men killed at Charlestown;  
And the earth pregnant with freedom,  
Opening her womb.

HAROLD PREECE.

## Rumors Of War

Is man a fool that he talks of war  
Before the blood of his fathers has dried;  
Is he too frightened or dull to see  
How futile the loss of the men who died?  
Will he solve his problems by brain or bomb;  
Is the only answer to man and blind?  
Is he hero enough to sheathe his sword  
And win by the strength of the human mind?

LESLIE SAVAGE.

## Dividends

I found three pickerel jewels today.  
Are these my dividends  
From deaf machines the workers wrought  
For us to share as friends?

"They do the work of ten," you boast . . .  
And they undo as well;  
My heaven is a garbage can,  
My bliss—a beggar's hell.

LLOYD FRANK MERRELL.

## Dogmatic And Liberal Education

"Everything has to be begun over again in the schools of the present-day. Above all, education in the true sense of the word, that is to say, the formation of the moral being, the active individual, full of initiative, enterprise, courage, freed from that timidity of thought which is the distinctive feature of the educated man of our period . . ."

P. KROPOTKIN.

Indeed, all has to be changed in the schools of today, education must be liberal and no longer dogmatic. The quality of popular instruction rests under the control of men who take care that modern tendencies remain ignored as much as possible by the pupils. Rulers have the monopoly of all educational institutions, from the kindergarten to the University. The dogmatic training we receive is only an adaptation to a state of servitude—we are trained to be the slaves of ancestral ghosts, and above all, slaves of respect for the established order. We must obey. We must not think. Our daring spirit is harnessed and our character castrated by lessons in moderation and discipline. Our young individuality is poured into the same useful molds of accepted platitude and mediocrity.

Surely the schools, so attractive and so nicely built, give the impression that great sacrifices are being made for our intellectual development. But in reality they are simply investments made by the big and small corporations called governments; corporations in which all of us are supposed to be shareholders but were frozen out long ago. Thus, it can truthfully be said that the schools are the orchards of our rulers in which proper fruit is being raised for their own sweet table. Is it not true that when we reach manhood the "MAN" in us has either been killed or atrophied?

Emerson told it plainly:— "Society is a conspiracy against the manhood of its members."

Yet, mental beauty and perfection and even indirectly physical beauty are due to the processes of education; to the preparation of the individual for life, a preparation which, as early as childhood, imprints its indelible marks upon the intellect. However, man's mental development, in the sphere of all that is beautiful and

## Nigger

Slim Jim, six foot negro from the Texas cotton fields, came down to the city just to see how the street lights looked. Slim Jim had not liked Soda Springs, down in the Texas-Louisiana line since his dad, a good farmer "on the halves" (meaning he did all the work and gave his white land lord half of what he made) had been hung to an elm tree by a mob following the alleged mistreatment of a white man's daughter. To make Slim Jim a little bit more suspicious, when the kid was born it was white and looked a lot like the Methodist preacher who held a camp meeting down of Cypress creek where Owl creek intersects—right on the edge of the big dismal east Texas malarial swamp.

Slim Jim, having never been to the city, wanted to look around. He was standing on the sidewalk looking straight up at the skyscraper that, like a giant, stood with long concrete arms pointing upward.

"What the hell you doin' here?" a cop barked as he grabbed Slim Jim by the shoulders. "... Better move on and cut out lookin' at the gals pass this windy corner or you'll get jugged . . ."

"What you mean Boss White Man?" Slim Jim asked inquisitively. "... I ain't lookin' at no white women... Ise jus' lookin' straight up . . . yes-sir . . . I comes from down near Marshall . . . little town called Soda Spring . . . I jus' come to see something."

"Lookin' straight up, eh?" The bull questioned. "No use bein' a damn liar . . . nigger. You ain't lookin' fer angels . . . you lookin' at legs . . . white women's legs . . . you the kind of kinky headed coon that would rape a white woman . . . better move on before I run you in."

Jim moved over a few blocks. A church was on the corner and he saw a preacher in the pulpit shouting to the top of his voice. The air now was chilly. Jim was flat broke and he was hungry.

"You are going to hell when you die," the preacher was yelling at the top of his voice . . . "you are goin' to burn in hell . . . you sinners . . ."

"Hell," Jim was whispering to himself. "Hell, . . . hell after you die, wonder what this is on Earth . . ."

"Hey, nigger, skinout," a big copper growled as he gnawed at a cigar like a ferocious puma. "You better move on or I'll put you so damn deep in jail that you can see daylight . . . jus' peepin' around I guess . . . been lot uv complaints 'round here about niggers peepin' through windows as women were disrobing. Better hike or I'll brain you with this club."

"God takes care of his people . . ." the preacher bellowed like a jackass as Slim Jim shuffled on.

"Get out of town right now," the railroad Dick bellowed like a bull as Slim Jim sauntered into the network of tracks. "You are a 'boxcar thief.' I can tell it by lookin' at you . . . get out of town."

An hour later Slim Jim slipped inside a box car. A few hours later he was back in Marshall. He had obeyed the command of the law in the big city.

As he stepped from the boxcar a cop grabbed him. "Hey, nigger, come on . . . you are arrested fer beatin' a ride on a train . . . its the rock pile for you . . . come on nigger."

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

perfect, cannot be conferred to him by dogmatic, but only by liberal education.

Again, the indelible marks mentioned above differ with the kind of education the individual receives and also with the type of educator who imparts it. Aware of the importance of harmony in life, the liberal educator knows that the child, like the plant, has the power of self-vegetation; not to be frustrated, and consequently helps the proper growth of the pupil instead of forcing it.

Furthermore, the liberal educator, far from making use of oppression, awakes the child's initiative in a friendly way. While he considers that no matter what environment a person is born in, he ought to receive, until his faculties permit him to discern and choose, a neutral education based only on concrete facts, the other educator imposes dogmatic learning which, when the adult who receives it awakens to its realization, leaves him entirely out of harmony with life. And this, because the strength and stability of our brain reside in the power of association of ideas; and such association is impeded by the incongruous mixture of the dogma with concrete facts.

Moreover, the dogmatically educated adult finds himself oppressed under the weight of prejudice and superstition, and above all, under the weight of dead traditions. The time required to clear away the faculty results in persistent impressions of dogmas and the time taken by the individual to counterbalance the ill effects of a defective education is lost in the development of his faculties—it is time lost to the possibilities and opportunities of life.

On the other hand, the liberally educated adult generally conceives as his duty the necessity for cooperating with his fellow men in order to shape and develop human society, to readjust human institutions in accordance with a higher ideal of life; higher than the present, starving, generation; that ideal of life for which he has received deliberate direction and training. His learning has implanted in him an aversion to all dogmas and despoticisms and has given him a craving for a free and fraternal humanity—that is "Anarchism."

JULES SCARCIERIAUX.

# MAKHNO'S ROLE IN THE REVOLUTION OF RUSSIA

The "Tempt" has already given, in its issue of August 2nd, the notice of the premature death of the renowned Makhno, who died of tuberculosis in Paris, July 27th, and who was cremated in the crematory of Pere-Lachaise. The Soviet papers did not find space to dedicate an obituary to this front-rank anarchist—not even a line at the bottom of the sixth page for the announcement of his death.... In spite of this the figure of Nestor Makhno was most interesting and no conspiracy of silence can make us forget the important part which the popular "Batk" played in the Russian Revolution, especially in the battle against Denikin. In the contumacy of his ephemeral allied bolsheviks, who hastened to rid themselves of him as soon as the victory against the whites was assured, future historians will give Makhno the place which belongs to him among the authors of the revolution.

Nestor Ivanovitch Makhno was born of a family of peasants in the district of Tauric, in 1889. A shepherd worker, farmer, he educated himself as best he could and at about the age of seventeen, initiated to the ideas of Anarchism, he found his own way. This was in 1905, the moment in which the first outburst of the revolutionary wave unchained itself and in which the glare of the burning castles glittered over the countryside. But the repression was not to tarry long and in the period of reaction, which followed the events of 1905, Makhno, arrested for acts of terrorism, was sentenced to prison.

Freed by the February Revolution, he returns to his native Ukraine, and he becomes the president of the Soviet of Golou-Pole. As a peasant he works in an agricultural "community." But in 1918 the Germanic invasion into Ukraine forces him to take up arms. At the head of a few hundred volunteers, he unites himself with the bolshevik forces against the invaders. The German divisions easily push back these poorly armed bands and install their creature, Skoropadsky. Makhno organizes the Whites, the land employers and the bands of his partisans against the Germans, and he precisely defines his tactics. Under cover in the woods, supported and refurnished by the peasant population, unable to be seized, these partisans surprisingly crash upon the German detachment of requisition, bring about the explosion of the railroad lines and bridges, assail the trains and then disappear, hide their arms, transform themselves into peaceful field workers, ready to respond to the first appeal of "Batk". These troops readily displace themselves on the "stachanki", the carts of the peasants, armed with mitrailleuse, which Makhno will render popular in Russia and whose styled imitations are seen on the Red Piazza in the parades of May 1st and November 7th.

His political program? An anarchist, he wants to give the land to the peasants, to the workers the workshops in complete ownership, and advises one and the other to organize themselves into federations of free communities. This means that he sees his enemies in the White Generals who want the return of the "pomietchki", the Denikins, the Wrangels, and he can hold only hatred for the Petluras and for the Skoropadskys supported by the Germans.

But he likes none at all the Bolsheviks of Moscow, the Communists whose agrarian program foresees collectivity and who reject the formula: "To the worker the workshop." He is at the same time against the Whites and the Reds. Consequently he will be distinguished "green" (peasant), although in reality he waves the black banner of Anarchy.

In the meantime, he repeatedly allies himself with the bolsheviks whom he considers the lesser evil. The question is, first of all, to disperse the Whites and drive away the Germans. Working in harmony with the Bolshevik forces, he combats Petlura. At the end of 1918 he seizes Ekaterinoslav (today Dniproprostrosk), the commercial and industrial center of southern Ukraine, but he does not succeed in holding the city.

According to Bolshevik historians, the forces of Makhno, refractory to any discipline whatsoever, gave themselves up to every type of debauch and had as their motto: "To beat the commissaries, the Bolsheviks, the Jews." In spite of this, acts of plundering, terror or anti-semitism were severely punished by Makhno and his lieutenants. He succeeded in holding his power in the south of Ukraine and he attempted to realize one of his "Utopias"—the suppression of prisons, the organization of the general life, "free communities", "free workers' councils", from which no social category was excluded. Under his transient government, freedom of the press was complete, and he permitted the publication of papers of the socialist revolutionaries of both the right and left wings and of bolshevik organs side by side with Anarchist papers. The work of Makhno and his partisans became decisive in the course of the year 1919, during the offensive of Denikin.

In the spring, Denikin took the offensive, occupied the Crimea and the basin of Donets and, in the summer, advanced rapidly on Ukraine, seized Kharkov, Kiev, Tsarskoye Selo directly at Moscow, reaches Orel in August—a distance of 350 kilometers from the Red Capital. But right at his shoulders breaks out a formidable

## \*NOTE OF TRANSLATOR:

The present article written by the correspondent from Moscow of the French Newspaper "Le Temps" was published in that paper August 22, 1934.

At this moment when we remember that one year ago Makhno died, and when we think over seriously the tortures inflicted upon the many anarchists imprisoned in Russia today, we deem it most fitting to reprint the article in English.

A. ALLEVA.

insurrection of the peasants, an insurrection in which the part played by Makhno is great. Denikin is forced to mobilize, across the front which is continually expanding, peasants who are little sure that the propaganda of Makhno easily attracts itself to the cause of the "green". The White General is made to venture into the bosom of an hostile population; all his forces are continually occupied in appeasing the revolts of the peasants. At this moment the popularity of Makhno is immense. He is the peasant hero of Ukraine, proudly opposed to the landowners. He collaborates with the Bolsheviks, but he is always master of the situation, while they are but his seconds.

Denikin rapidly withdraws as he had advanced. The cavalry of Makhno inflicts upon the White General's Army, which was in flight, a crushing defeat near the city of Ouman, taking possession of an enormous quantity of munitions sent to Denikin by his allies. He occupies Berdiansk, Mariupol, and again Ekaterinoslav. His relations with the Bolsheviks, which were never very cordial, pass through phases of collaboration and quiet or open hostility.

After the annihilation of Denikin, Makhno, a sick man, is cured by doctors especially sent from Moscow. Persons such as Bela-Kun and Kamenev visited him at Gouli-Pole. But Trotsky, who well knew how to make use of him and the bands of his partisans, endured with impatience his "Allied Anarchists", had the members of their Congress meeting at Kharkov arrested, and in general lines did not hide his aversion, entirely Bolshevik, for anarchist ideas.

Between Makhno and Trotsky matters became serious. The propaganda of the former in favor of a regime without central power, of a federation of "free soviets" is opposed to the Marxian propaganda of the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercised in the name of the masses of the communist party. Between the Bolsheviks and Anarchists there arise many conflicts which burst into open battles.

But once again the Whites pass to the offensive and reform the alliance of Makhno and Trotsky. A solemn agreement (October, 1920) acknowledges the freedom of press and organization for the anarchists. Makhno sends numerous detachments of partisans against Wrangel, and it is his cavalry that crosses the marshes and passes through the Isthmus of Perekop.

The Whites who, in spite of them and against themselves, brought about the alliance of the Bolsheviks with the "partisans", are definitely defeated. By this time the battle between Makhno and Trotsky is implacable, open. In the course of 1921 the Red Army succeeds in "liquidating" the bands of Makhno and in August these take shelter in Rumania, from whence they rejoin in France.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the defeat of Denikin is due to the insurrection of the peasants who waved the black flag that was Makhno's, rather than to the successes of Trotsky's regular army.

The bands of Batko's partisans have given over the balance in favor of the Reds, and if Moscow today wants to forget it, impartial history will take note of it.

PIERRE BERLAND.

## Chaining! The Press

(Continued From Page Five)

because of inability to pay the judgment. Radical publications, because of their iconoclasm, are particularly vulnerable targets for libel proceedings. The reputations of the pirates must be protected even if their victims starve.

Theoretically, a citizen's mail should be as sacred as his home. Actually, the postal authorities are too practical in their defense of the existing social order to be bothered with idealism. The postal interference with *Man!* is known to every reader of this journal. This underhanded procedure has also been invoked against the Communist weekly, *The New Masses*. Communications to the publishers have been repeatedly rifled and money intended for subscriptions confiscated. I have received copies of *The New Masses* which had been taken from the wrappers and barely reinserted. Bundle orders of *The Southern Worker* have been confiscated by rural carriers in the Black Belt. The postmaster at Palestine, Texas, advises Negro teachers not to subscribe for *The Crisis*, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "It isn't good for you," the postmaster says to the teachers.

If all social criticism is to be stifled, then we may expect nothing but intellectual degeneration upon the part of the masses. During the World War, the lying propaganda of the militarists became magnified on a staggering scale after the suppression of *The Appeal to Reason* and other Left Journals. The advanced minority has always been the leavening factor in every civilization, and always it has guided the next progression of mankind. But when the free flow of ideas is impeded by cranial inferiors of this minority, the people may look forward to nothing but diabolical exploitation and organized murder.

Thus, literary suppression is always a prelude to complete political suppression. The organs of communication are vital sectors in any social struggle. Realizing this fact, Herr Goering suppressed the newspapers of the Social Democrats and Communists before he dissolved the organizations themselves. Alarmed by the growth of mass discontent, certain forces in America are scheming adroitly to put the lid on the volcano. The eminent jurists, who comprise the New York County Bar Association, have already declared themselves in favor of Federal censorship. Now comes the powerful American Legion with a legislative program designed to stop the flood of "subversive literature." This or the next session of Congress may witness the passage of any of the twenty or so pending bills to silence free speech and free press.

Under the circumstances, the fight for the preservation of *Man!* is also a fight for the continued existence of every non-conformist journal in the country. As a revolutionary writer, as a Communist, I assert that the Anarchists must not be compelled to carry on this fight alone! If the machiavellian Mr. Farley succeeds in his intention, we may expect nothing but wholesale muzzling of all independent publications plus savage pogroms upon working-class agitators and artists.

Moreover, this case is especially grave because it involves the lives of two men—men who, by any decent measurement, are useful citizens of the community. Because Ferrero and Sallito are foreign-born, they must not think aloud. This is the plain import of Miss Perkins's stool-pigeon activities for Signor Mussolini. Under the same construction, the Continental Congress should have ordered the deportation of Thomas Paine. Significantly enough, no German or Italian fascists have ever been driven from our shores.

Every liberal or radical organization must place on its agenda, for immediate consideration, the Ferrero-Sallito cases and the threatened suppression of *Man!* Undoubtedly, our laxity in the first instance is responsible for the deportation proceedings recently preferred against Alfred Miller, editor of *The Producers News*. Ferrero and Sallito condemned as Anarchists for Italy; Miller booked as a Communist for Germany! Surely, the government cares nothing for the fine distinctions of creed which paralyze the radical movement in matters of protective action. It is shamefully criminal that the existing defense organizations, aside from the American Civil Liberties Union, have failed to realize their clear responsibilities in the Ferrero-Sallito cases.

Nor does a united front for mutual protection mean any denial of principle upon the part of any co-operating journal. From this struggle for the continuance of *Man!* there should arise a joint defense committee representative of all heretical publications. The organizations issuing these periodicals should each allocate a certain sum of money for the support of the committee. This effort presupposes, of course, a strong agitational apparatus which can be used whenever any publication is threatened. To paraphrase an old expression, an injury to one must necessarily be an injury to all!

HAROLD PREECE.

Strange as it may seem, the Communist press of this country has not even as much as mentioned the case involving the two individuals. The sincere manner in which Harold Preece has shown all along his solidarity in our difficulties speaks for itself.

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Accordingly you see how all things are a universe, and the universe is in all things, we in it, it in us, and thus all issues in a complete unity.—Giordano Bruno.

## Two Have Departed

Only a few weeks ago our Friend George Roe from Albert, Canada, has sent to me his pamphlet on social credit: *Individual Socialism*. It was awaiting its turn to be reviewed. I had written to Roe, asking him to be kind enough to rewrite a letter he had written to the Prime Minister of Canada, upon the exclusion of *MAN!* from that country. (I hope to publish it in a forthcoming issue.) The return mail brought back my letter—postmarked: Deceased!

Any data upon this fine-spirited libertarian will be appreciated, and used when printing his letter.

Casper Richman of Brainerd, Minn., kept in close touch with *MAN!* in many a ways. He had supported the journal very generously. He sent me poetry and stories very often, but which regrettably were not up to the standard of those used in our pages. It was his box of Crayons for the 1934 Bazaar that the authorities broke open when it was for a second time returned by the postmaster of Brainerd. They were of course expecting to find in the box—bombs—but not crayons.

A few months ago Comrade Richman surprised us by sending a write-up of himself as an artist with representations of his works at the State Fair. We also knew of him as having been active in the I. W. W. I had written to him a few words of encouragement upon his artistic career. The letter came back post-marked: Deceased. Of his life too, we have no data, and such will be very welcome, if any one possesses same.

A good Friend and Comrade—two fighters for a New Day have departed from us, the living. Their devotedness should serve us as an inspiration to carry on.

M. G.

## Financial Statement

(May 15 to July 15)

INCOME	\$141.74
EXPENDITURES	114.47
DEFICIT FROM LAST ISSUE	47.24
	\$161.71
INCOME	\$141.74
DEFICIT	\$ 19.97

## RECEIVED FROM AFFAIRS OF GROUPS

(From March 15 to July 15)

Wilsonville, Ill., \$5.00—San Francisco, \$10.75—B. D. Australia, \$4.80—Probuschdenie, \$3.00—T. F. Chicago, Ill., \$0.50—Monessen, Pa., \$7.00—Chicago, Ill., \$10.00—Needham Hts., Mass., \$5.00—Mishawaka, Ind., \$10.00—Hampton, N. J., \$5.00—San Francisco, \$6.90—T. F. Chicago, Ill., \$2.00—G. F. Australia, \$3.65—Philadelphia, Pa., \$10.00—W. L. F. Australia, \$2.37—T. F. Chicago, Ill., \$1.00—San Francisco, \$25.00—Haverhill, Mass., \$4.00—Newark, N. J., \$2.00—Haverhill, Mass., \$2.00—Boston, Mass., \$8.38—T. F. Chicago, Ill., \$6.00—London, Eng., \$7.00—Rochester, N. Y., \$10.00—Lynn, Mass., \$15.00—Philadelphia, Pa., \$10.00.
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Receipts are sent to all individual remitters of money, as well as to Groups, but only money from Groups are acknowledged in the Journal.

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The file of the first two years of *MAN!* will be sent anywhere upon receipt of one dollar.

## MAN!

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EDITOR, MARCUS GRAHAM

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*MAN!* invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

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## MAN!

P. O. Box 115, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.